

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 12228 290119Z

63

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

/069 W

----- 052053

O 281745Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9119

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

DIA WASHDC

USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

AMCONSUL NAPLES

USDOCOSOUTH

SHAPEUSNR

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMCONSUL FLORENCE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 12228

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

SHAPEUSNR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT

SUBJECT: ANDREOTTI TO TAKE POLITICAL DILEMMA TO PARLIAMENT

1. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (DC) DIRECTORATE VOTED UNANIMOUSLY  
LATE JULY 27 TO AUTHORIZE ANDREOTTI TO ASK PARLIAMENTARY AP-  
PROVAL FOR A DC-MINORITY GOVERNMENT. ANDREOTTI IS EXPECTED  
TO PRESENT HIS PROPOSED GOVERNMENT TO PRESIDENT LEONE ON  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 12228 290119Z

JULY 29, AND TO PRESENT HIS PROGRAM AND GOVERNMENT, FIRST TO

THE SENATE AND THEN TO THE CHAMBER, BY THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK.

2. THE DECISION FOR ANDREOTTI TO GO AHEAD WITH HIS MINORITY GOVERNMENT MARKS THE END OF THE FIRST PHASE OF ADJUSTMENT TO THE ELECTIONS OF JUNE 20 WHICH CREATED SUCH A CLOSE BALANCE BETWEEN THE LEFT AND THE CENTER AS TO MAKE THE FORMATION OF ANY GOVERNMENT DIFFICULT. THE ELECTION ALSO OF COURSE REGISTERED VERY STRONG GAINS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI). WITH THESE ELECTORAL RESULTS THE DC FACED A PROBLEM OF HOW TO PUT A WORKABLE GOVERNMENT TOGETHER WITHOUT THE PCI AND AT THE SAME TIME TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PCI WHICH WOULD LEAST COMPLICATE THE DC'S PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEMS.

3. THE DC CLEARLY DECIDED THAT THE COURSE TO BE FOLLOWED WAS ONE OF ACCEPTING A GREATER COMMUNIST ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION FUNCTIONING OF THE PARLIAMENT ITSELF, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME EXCLUDING THE PCI FROM ANY DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. GIVEN THE ELECTORAL RESULTS, THE DC CLEARLY THOUGHT IT HAD TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS TO THE COMMUNISTS. THE ONE CHOSEN APPEARS TO THEM TO BE THE LEAST COSTLY. IT HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF PERMITTING THE DC TO KEEP FAITH WITH ITS ANTI-COMMUNIST ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE PCI HAS NO DIRECT ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT. ALSO, IT HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF PROVIDING A TANGIBLE BASIS FOR DEMONSTRATING TO THE PSI THAT THE DC HAS DROPPED ITS PREVIOUS FORMAL INSISTENCE ON DC EXCLUSION FROM NORMAL PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY, AN EXCLUSION WHICH HAS LONG TROUBLED THE PSI. WHILE A PCI PRESIDENCY OF THE CHAMBER AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF AT LEAST SEVEN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES IS FAR FROM UNIMPORTANT, SUCH CHAIRMANSHIPS ARE NOWHERE NEAR AS IMPORTANT IN THIS (OR OTHER) PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS AS THEY ARE IN THE US CONGRESS (THE US PRESS TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING). UNLIKE SOME PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS, COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS ARE NOT RESERVED FOR THE "GOVERNMENT" BUT HAVE BEEN REGULARLY DISTRIBUTED AMONG ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THOSE OF THE EXTREMES OF RIGHTS AND LEFT. THE PCI HAS IN THE PAST HAD VICE CHAIRMANSHIPS BUT THE RECENT ALLOCATION OF SEVEN CHAIRMANSHIPS IS WITHOUT DOUBT A STEP FORWARD FOR THE PCI. APART FROM THESE PARLIAMENTARY OFFICES, ANDREOTTI ALSO CONSULTED THE PCI (AND ALL OTHER PARTIES EXCEPT THE MSI, PR, AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 12228 290119Z

DEMPROL), ABOUT THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH HE WOULD PRESENT TO PARLIAMENT.

4. IN RECENT DAYS THE PCI HAS ATTEMPTED TO PUSH ITS GAINS ONE STEP FURTHER. IN AN EFFORT TO CAPITALIZE ON ANDREOTTI'S LACK OF AN APPARENT MAJORITY, THE PCI HAS BEEN PRESSING THE DC FORMALLY TO ASK THE PCI TO ABSTAIN ON THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND TO SUPPORT ANDREOTTI'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. THE DC

HAS REFUSED TO TAKE THIS LAST STEP, FOR IT IS SEEN AS A DEFINITE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. INSTEAD THE DC SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI, IN HIS POLICY SPEECH TO THE JULY 27 DIRECTORATE MEETING, REAFFIRMED THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN OPPOSITION AND THE GOVERNMENT. NEVERTHELESS, IN LIGHT OF THE ANNOUNCED LACK OF SUPPORT FOR THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT BY ANY OTHER PARTY, ZACCAGNINI APPEALED TO ALL PARTIES OF THE "CONSTITUTIONAL ARC", (I.E., ALL EXCEPT THE MSI) TO MAKE AN "AUTONOMOUS DECISION TO ABSTAIN ON THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE" IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY.

5. THUS ALL ITALIAN POLITICAL PARTIES ARE FACED WITH A DILEMMA. A MAJORITY CANNOT AGREE ON A GOVERNMENT THAT IT WILL POSITIVELY SUPPORT BUT, IF NO GOVERNMENT IS APPROVED, EARLY ELECTIONS (WHICH NO ONE WANTS) BECOME INEVITABLE. THE DC APPEARS TO HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS ELECTORAL MANDATE, I.E., WITHOUT DIRECT PCI PARTICIPATION. THE DC HAS, IN RESPONSE TO THE ELECTORAL RESULTS, MADE AN EFFORT TO BEGIN A NEW STYLE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PCI AND ANDREOTTI HAS MADE WHAT APPEARS TO BE A GENUINE EFFORT TO FIND A COMMON DENOMINATOR IN BOTH PROGRAM AND GOVERNMENTAL TERMS THAT COULD BE SUPPORTED BY A MAJORITY OF THE PARLIAMENT. COMMENTS FROM VARIOUS POLITICAL LEADERS WOULD SUGGEST THAT HE MAY WELL HAVE SUCCEEDED IN REACHING A CONSENSUS ON HIS PROPOSALS FOR THE BASIC PROGRAM MEASURES TO BE TAKEN, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, BUT HE CLEARLY HAS NOT YET FOUND A POLITICAL CONSENSUS. HE THUS GOES TO THE PARLIAMENT WITHOUT KNOWING WHETHER HE WILL HAVE ENOUGH VOTES FOR HIS GOVERNMENT TO SURVIVE THE INITIAL VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE OTHER PARTIES ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE LACK OF ALTERNATIVES AND OF THE FACT THAT THEY WILL SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR VOTING THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT DOWN AND FOR WHAT FOLLOWS. VOLPE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 12228 290119Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CABINET, POLITICAL SITUATION, FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 JUL 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976ROME12228  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760292-0712  
**From:** ROME  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760713/aaaaalfw.tel  
**Line Count:** 154  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <27 APR 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <23 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ANDREOTTI TO TAKE POLITICAL DILEMMA TO PARLIAMENT  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, IT, (ANDREOTTI)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006